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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

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TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE ON OLD PARA 16

REF: (A) USNATO 4551; (B) USNATO 4569

1. YOU SHOULD PREFACE PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL POINTS
ON BRACKETED PORTIONS OF PARA 16 (AS GIVEN PARA 5 REF B)
WITH GENERAL REMINDER THAT SECTION II DEFINES THE GOALS
THE ALLIES WILL SEEK IN NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT, WITH
REGARD TO PHASE II OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE
THAT IT WOULD BE DAMAGING TO THE ENTERPRISE AS A WHOLE TO
SEEK TO DEFINE SECOND PHASE GOALS WITH THE DEGREE OF PRE-
CISION APPARENTLY DESIRED BY MANY ALLIES. WE CONTINUE TO
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HOLD, AS STATED IN PARA 16, THAT "IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC

TO TRY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO DEFINE FURTHER THE CONTENT OF A LATER STAGE BEFORE THE OUTCOME OF THE FIRST PHASE CAN REALISTICALLY BE PROJECTED, AND THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT SUCH DEFINITION AT THIS TIME." OUR APPROACH TO INDIVIDUAL POINTS IN BRACKETED TEXT IS BASED ON THAT GENERAL PREMISE.

2. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE INCLUSION IN TEXT OF BELGIAN SENTENCE READING "REDUCED FORCES OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE AREA SHOULD BE INACTIVATED AND PUT IN RESERVE STATUS," ON GROUNDS THAT IT SEEKS TO BE TOO SPECIFIC TOO EARLY. IF BELGIANS DESIRE, WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO INCLUSION OF SENTENCE AS BELGIAN FOOTNOTE. HOWEVER, WE WOULD IN SUCH CASE SUGGEST THAT SENTENCE BE SLIGHTLY REWORDED TO READ, "REDUCED FORCES OF NATO COUNTRIES WITHIN THE AREA, ETC."

3. RE BELGIAN PROPOSAL TO DELETE PHRASE "IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT" AND REPLACE "FURTHER" BY "IN DETAIL" IN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE PROPOSED BY US, YOU SHOULD NOT ACCEPT, ON THE GROUNDS THAT AT THIS POINT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD DO NO MORE THAN ANTICIPATE IN MOST GENERAL WAY ITS NEGOTIATING AIMS FOR A SECOND PHASE IN ANY EVENT AND THAT INSERTION OF "IN DETAIL" IN LIEU OF "FURTHER" COULD ENCOURAGE POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE DEBATE WITHIN ALLIANCE ON COMPOSITION OF SECOND STAGE FROM THE BEGINNING OF AN THROUGHOUT FIRST STAGE.

4. YOU SHOULD OPPOSE BELGIAN AND DUTCH PROPOSAL THAT SENTENCE "SUBSEQUENT TO THE SECOND PHASE, THE OVERALL COMMON CEILING WOULD BE RESPECTED BY EACH SIDE, WITH NO SUB-CEILINGS OTHER THAN THOSE RESPECTIVELY AFFECTING THE US AND SOVIET FORCES WITHIN THE COMMON CEILING" SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN PAPER AS SEPARATE SECTION ENTITLED "POST REDUCTION CEILING," YOU SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS: WE HAVE NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THE UNDERLYING VIEWPOINT EMBODIED IN THIS PROPOSAL, TO RESIST POSSIBLE SOVIET EFFORTS TO LIMIT POTENTIAL OF WESTERN EUROPEAN MILITARY DEVELOPMENT. IN PROCESS OF DEVELOPING ALLIED MBFR PAPER, WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO ENSURE FULL FUTURE

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FLEXIBILITY FOR WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE DEVELOPMENT. WE SUPPORTED AND WILL ABIDE BY PARAGRAPH 8 OF SECRET GUIDELINES (PER REF A) READING "NEITHER THE CONDUCT NOR THE OUTCOME OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO INHIBIT THE AGREED PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION OR THE GROWTH OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE CO-OPERATION." WE ASSUME FROM THE ORIGINAL BELGIAN LANGUAGE THAT THEIR PROPOSAL REFERS TO THE OUTCOME OF PHASE II RATHER THAN THE WAY IN

WHICH PHASE II WOULD BE NEGOTIATED. IF THIS IS SO, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO GIVE SPECIFIC CONSIDERATION THIS APPROACH UNTIL ALLIES ARE FAR ENOUGH ADVANCED IN PHASE II TO CONSIDER HOW THEY WOULD LIKE TO FORMULATE A FAVORABLE OUTCOME IN ACTUAL LANGUAGE. TO USE BELGIAN-NETHERLANDS APPROACH IN ACTUALLY NEGOTIATING PHASE II COULD HAVE EFFECT (1) OF PREVENTING TRADEOFF OF NON-US NATO FORCES FOR SOVIET FORCES IN PHASE II, (2) CONSEQUENTLY CREATING SITUATION WHERE IN PHASE II US REDUCTIONS WOULD BE ONLY WAY TO GET SOVIET REDUCTIONS. OTHER ALLIES COULD ONLY REDUCE IN RETURN FOR EAST GERMAN, CZECHSLOVAKIAN AND POLISH REDUCTIONS. THE PROPOSED TEXT OF PARA 16 ALREADY PROVIDES THAT THE ALLIES WOULD NEGOTIATE PHASE II

ON THE BASIS OF THE AGGREGATE FORCES ON BOTH SIDES REMAINING AFTER FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS. IF IN FACT ACTUALLY DESIRABLE IN ITSELF, IT WOULD ONLY BE POSSIBLE TOWARDS THE END OF THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, AS AN AGREED OVERALL REDUCTION WAS BEGINNING TO EMERGE, TO SEEK TO ESTABLISH SUB-CATEGORIES IN THE RESULTANT COMMON CEILING LEVEL. WE THEREFORE CONSIDER THAT THIS ENTIRE MATTER SHOULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL THIS STAGE IS IN SIGHT.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, YOU SHOULD OPPOSE INCLUSION OF THIS LANGUAGE IN THE ALLIED PAPER. ISSUES OF THIS KIND SHOULD BE GIVEN CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AT A LATER TIME WHEN ALLIES ARE PREPARING DETAILED POSITION PAPER FOR PHASE II. IF THERE IS NEVERTHELESS CONSENSUS FOR INCLUSION OF CONCEPT IN PAPER IN SOME FORM, YOU MAY PROPOSE ALTERNATIVE OF ADDITION TO PARAGRAPH 8 IN SECRET GUIDELINES (SECTION I) OF SENTENCE READING "IN PARTICULAR, THE ALLIED POSITION ON MBFR SHOULD
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AT ALL POINTS TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE DESIRABILITY OF MAINTAINING FLEXIBILITY IN THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF NON-US NATO FORCES IN EUROPE IN THE POST-MBFR PERIOD."
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